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ABSTRACT

After a brief introduction to prejudice and stereotyping, this paper explores the feelings of stigmatized children; identifies components of stereotypes and prejudice; and discusses strategies for combating prejudice. The exploration of stigmatized children's feelings focuses on the time at which children become aware of their stigma and their responses to it. Responses may include rejection of their group identity, correction of their "blemish," use of stigma for secondary gain, and clinging to the safety of a group composed of similarly stigmatized persons. Included in the discussion is Van Dijk's (1983) hierarchy of prejudiced beliefs about minority "ethnic" groups, and examples of how social representation of minorities is used to process social information. The discussion of counterstrategies probes the significance of the attitudes of authority figures, the identification of the hidden curriculum and the way power is distributed in the schools, interracial or interethnic contact, and the development of cognitively sophisticated thinking regarding prejudice and stereotypes. (RH)

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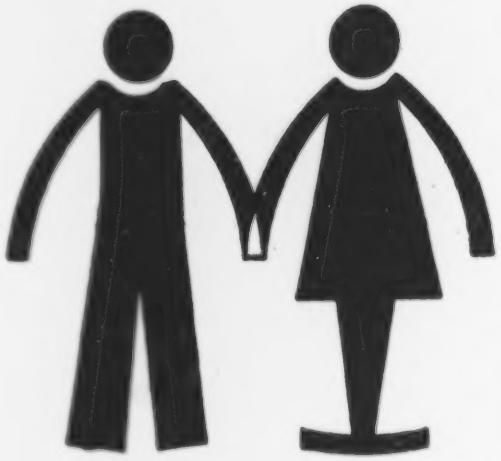

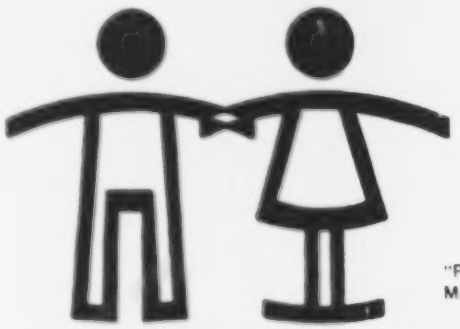

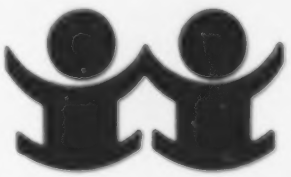

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RACIAL INTOLERANCE: A CHILD'S PERSPECTIVE
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RACIAL INTOLERANCE: A CHILD'S PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

What is it like to be a victim of prejudice, a stigmatized child? What makes up prejudice? What can child educators - parents, teachers - do to combat it? These are the questions that this paper addresses. They are increasingly looming as key issues that touch Australian children in our multi-ethnic and multi-racial society. The paper is organised in the following manner:

1. Brief introduction to prejudice and stereotyping.

2. What is it like to be a stigmatized child?

3. The components of stereotypes and prejudice.

4. Strategies for combating prejudice.

PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPING

Prejudice means a judgement formed before due examination and consideration of the facts, that is, a premature judgement. Most explanations of prejudice see it as a form of social group attitude, consisting of a number of beliefs (mostly called stereotypes), emotions and connotations or actions about ethnic or racial groups on which we base such a prior and unsupported judgement or bias. One of the specific features of prejudiced attitudes is their negative nature.

Gordon Allport's (1958) work has been most influential in our understanding of the nature of prejudice. He defines prejudice as an irrational hostility toward others solely because of their presumed membership of a particular group. We tend to view individuals belonging to such groups as possessing certain characteristics which make them bearers of a stigma - a blemish. The nature of prejudice and stereotyping as well as its source will be more fully discussed later in the paper. We now turn to what I consider the focus of this paper, what is it like to be the victim of prejudice.

THE STIGMATIZED CHILD

What is it like to be a stigmatized child? How does one feel when one is different in some way from the rest of society, not quite like the 'normals'? The Greeks used the term 'stigma' to refer to bodily signs designed to express something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut or burnt into the body and proclaimed that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, a blemished person - to be avoided, especially in public places. The term stigma is now often used to refer to a feature or attribute of a person that makes her or him different from and less desirable than others in a particular social category, e.g. different from other boys and girls, different from other adults. The person possessing or thought to possess such an attribute is reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discredited one. The normals tend to ignore or overlook other salient features of the person and focus on the one aspect which marks them as stigmatized. So, for example, we find that a child belonging to a minority race who may have been easily received in ordinary social contact with her peers, is thought to possess a trait which turns those of us she meets away from her, breaking the claim that her other attributes (intelligence, personality, competency) have on us.

Sociologist Erving Goffman (1981) has identified three different types of stigma: the various physical deformities; the blemishes of individual character perceived as domineering passions; rigid beliefs, weak will associated with mental disorder, imprisonment, alcoholism, homosexuality and thirdly, the tribal stigma of race, nation and religion.

In this paper I am concerned with the effect on the child of the third type of stigma - membership of a minority race or ethnic group that by its nature can be transmitted from generation to generation and equally contaminates all members of a family.

Goffman notes certain features in the relationship between stigmatized individuals and the 'ordinary', 'normal' members of society. "By definition, of course, we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human. On this assumption we exercise varieties of discrimination, through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly reduce his life chances." (Goffman, 1981, p.15) We tend to then impute a wide range of imperfections on the basis of the original one.

Further, we tend to interpret any defensive reaction to our prejudiced attitude and behaviour on the part of the stigmatized as a direct expression of her defect and then see both defect and response as just punishment for something she or her parents or her tribe did and hence feel justified in the way we treat her. This is illustrated by the findings in an American study on adolescent prejudice by Glock et al (1975). They found that prejudiced teenagers considered the perceived stereotypes of their Jewish peers, such as pushy, sly, clannish, to be a deficiency in the character of Jews itself rather than due to any social, historical influences.

WHEN DO CHILDREN BECOME AWARE OF THEIR STIGMA AND HOW DO THEY RESPOND?

It has been shown that children, fairly early, learn the major social categories into which people, including themselves and other children, are put by adults about them. Though parents are obviously the primary source of such social information children also learn from media such as television, comics and other adults in the community. The views of the majority group are thus particularly influential. Goodman (1964) describes the developmental phases in prejudice formation. The first stage, racial awareness, has been found in children as young as three to four years old. The second phase, racial orientation, where the first positive and negative feelings about racial and ethnic groups appear, has also been found in children as young as three years old and it is certainly well established by the time they are six years. The third phase, which she called racial attitude, refers to the formation of racial and ethnic stereotypes including an awareness of various groups' social status. Milner's (1975) survey of literature found that six to eight year olds absorbed complex information about stereotypes and that by the age of ten ethnic attitudes similar to those expressed by the adult community are adopted.

The child's awareness and response to his stigma, however, is influenced by other factors as well: the value and cohesion of his tribal group as well as timing of and degree of contact with the majority members.

The child may grow up in residential communities of minority ethnic, racial or religious groups with a high concentration of tribally stigmatized persons who hold a separate system of values from the rest of society. Insulated from mixed contact, protected by identity beliefs of their own, these communities may rear children to feel that they are full fledged normal human beings, and that the rest of society is not quite human. A child like this bears a stigma but is not repentant about doing so. Examples of such close knit communities are the Amish of Pennsylvania, very orthodox Jews, Gypsies, tribal Aborigines.

In other instances, the child similarly reared, may only become aware of his stigma upon entering school. In a book 'Coming to Know' (1980) British educationist Jagdish Gundara describes his childhood in Kenya where his father, a Sikh, was a forester on the outskirts of Nairobi. Isolated from the Indian community, Jagdish played naturally with the African children who were his neighbours, picked up their languages and grew up to think that "we were part of the forest and each other" (Salmon, 1980, p.94). Differences between the children were seen in terms of older and younger children. It was not till it was time to go to high school that Jagdish became aware of the significance of racial categories and status differences: Indians versus Europeans, Indians versus Africans, city versus rural, wealthy versus poor.

For children not insulated from the majority, awareness of racial or ethnic membership develops early, as noted above. On the whole minority group children tend to hold the same beliefs about their identity as does the majority. The standards they have incorporated from the wider society equip them to be intimately alive to what others see as their failing, inevitably causing them to agree that indeed they are blemished.

CHILDREN'S RESPONSES TO THEIR STIGMA

1) Rejection of their Group Identity

Empirical studies suggest that in the past at least for many children the answer to stigma is a rejection of their own racial ethnic group, adopting as they do quite early in life the cultural norms and judgement of those about them.

In an early study by Clark and his wife (1947) five to seven year old black children were shown a variety of black and white dolls and were asked, "Which doll looks nice?", "Which doll looks bad?", "Which doll has a nice colour?". The majority of children picked the white doll as the one which looked nice and had a nice colour and picked the black doll as the one which looked bad. This included the black children who had absorbed the majority view of themselves. In a more recent study Mexican-American born children in the US were found to perceive themselves as "significantly more emotional, unscientific, materialistic, old fashioned, poor, and of low social class, mistrusted, proud, lazy" (Mussen et al. 1974, p.82). In contrast Mexican-American children born in Mexico did not share these stereotypes. The discrepancy was viewed as establishing the influence of the dominant American value orientation upon native born Mexican-American stereotpying. Taifel et al. (cited in Healer, 1980, p.45) asked British six to twelve year olds in Oxford and Glasgow what their nationality was and which nationality they preferred. The researchers found that English children preferred their own country as expected but discovered that Glasgow children preferred English to Scots. That is they identified with the dominant rather than their own national group. Taifel et al concluded that there was 'evidence of the great sensitivity of young children to the more primitive aspects of the value system of their society'.

In a study of racial awareness and identification Goodman (1964) found that of 57 black nursery school children 61% displayed a tendency to see themselves as lighter in colour than they were. Goodman noticed that 'these children evidenced a great deal of wishful thinking about the attributes of themselves and those others who are important'.

So one response to the stigma the society attaches to their group is for children to identify with the majority and to disassociate themselves from their stigma-bearing group.

2) Correction of One's Blemish

Goffman notes that in some cases stigmatized individuals make attempts to correct what they see as the objective basis of their failings. For example, a physically deformed person may undergo plastic surgery; an illiterate, remedial education. Teachers have noticed that adolescents from stigmatized racial and ethnic groups, whose appearance allows them to 'pass' as 'normal', may change their name, detach themselves from other members of their group who may give them away.

Jagdish Gundara illustrates this response to the status of the stigmatized (Salmon, 1980, p.100):

> One of the inflictions of this era ... was a disdain of my apparent Indianness. If I ... could not shed the colour of my skin, I felt that I ought to change my name, at least when I had grown up. I thought that perhaps if I Anglicised my nickname it would assist me in assimilating and some of my problems would disappear.

Another educationist, Mexican American, who started school with Spanish only, relates: "I was usually scared even to allow the teacher to listen to me speak Spanish. I assumed that if the teacher did not speak Spanish then it was an inferior language" (Association for Childhood Education International, 1973, p.7).

The minority adolescent may also attempt to correct his condition indirectly by devoting much private effort to the mastery of areas of activity felt to be closed to him. This is seen in the sustained achievement and academic effort of newly arrived immigrant parents who hope to gain status, privilege and acceptance from the majority group.

3) Stigma as a Secondary Gain

The stigmatized adolescent may use her stigma for 'secondary gain', as an excuse for failures that have come her way for other reasons. Adolescents achieving poorly in school may blame it on bias of teachers and peers.

4. The Stigmatized Children's and Adolescents' Response to Mixed Contact

When normal and stigmatized come into contact"there occurs one of the primal scenes of sociology, for in many cases these moments will be ones when the causes and effects of stigma might be directly confronted by both sides" (Goffman, 1981, p.24). The stigmatized child may find that she feels unsure how the normal s will identify her and receive her.

If one's stigma is not obvious, as may be the case in a Jewish child not having the stereotypical Jewish appearance, there is anxiety of what will happen when the stigma is discovered.

Adolescents who in any case become increasingly self conscious and preoccupied with their effect on others are likely to feel during mixed contact that they are 'odd', having to be self-conscious and calculating about the impression they are making to a degree and in areas of conduct of which they assume others are not aware.

Hostile bravado instead of cowering may be the stigmatized person's approach to mixed contact and the majority group as such.

Recent findings that minority group children are preferring to identify with their own minority group are indicative of the current resurgence of racial and ethnic pride. In a repetition of the Clarks' study (cited in Mussen et al., 1974, p.465) a majority of black children now preferred the black doll. Interestingly black children who most consistently preferred black dolls were more likely than other black children to have black and white friends. Similar trends are emerging in studies of older children and adolescents in a variety of minority groups in the United States. It seems that self-esteem of pre-adolescent and adolescent blacks in a majority of instances equals or exceeds that of whites. However, it should be noted that although responses of black children have changed, the responses of young white children have not. White children never express preferences to be a member of any racial group but their own (Katz, 1982).

There is evidence then that minority children reared in cohesive communities with their own strongly held values and with warm understanding parents who are activly involved in fostering their development are likely to develop a high level of self esteem even in a prejudiced society which practises discrimination.

5) Clinging to the Safety of One's Group

Another response to the prejudice of the majority by the stigmatized is to come together in small social groups with other members of the same category. This tendency is ubiquitous in Australian classrooms, both primary and secondary, where 'ethnic' children of non English-speaking backgrounds tend to sit by each other, play together, support each other. Being in a circle with those who share one's stigma provides the child with the comfort of feeling at home, at ease, accepted as a person who really is like any other 'normal'.

There is thus a variety of responses to the pain of the stigma. Some children reject their group, some try to correct the so-called blemishes, some try to 'pass' as normals, others cling to the safety of their ethnic group and increasingly more are responding by self assertion, pride in their tribal group, at times bordering on hostile bravado.

THE COMPONENTS OF STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICE

Recent approaches to the understanding of prejudice are based on cognitive theory. It consists of an explicit analysis of how people represent social groups and group conflict, how this representation influences the formation of stereotypes and prejudice and how this can be used to process new social information. Prejudice is seen as an organisation of ideas, a form of cognitive representation, about ethnic and racial groups which children form as they interact with people about them. This representation or scheme then determines the ways children manage new social information about these groups. Van Dijk (1983) investigated the process of prejudice in the Netherlands by analysis of everyday talk. He found that prejudiced attitudes are represented in people's minds as a set of beliefs or propositions that are hierarchically organised. This means that some propositions or statements about other groups are more relevant to the formation of stereotypes and prejudice than others. Van Dijk's hierarchy of social beliefs is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

A HIERARCHY OF PREJUDICED BELIEFS ABOUT MINORITY 'ETHNIC' GROUPS
(based on Van Dijk's Classification)

Proposition	Description & Example
A. Origin/Nationality and/or appearance	This is the major categorization essential for identification of out-group versus in-groups, both in global terms and in everyday encounters, E.g. 'They aren't Australian', 'they have a dark skin', 'they have funny eyes';. As a general strategy for using this category, one may assume that the bigger the difference, the more probable the negative evaluation of the out-group. 'They aren't like us, they are not as good'.
B. Socio-economic group involving group size its goal, overall social class.	Related to threat of competition for our space, resources, houses, work, money. e.g. 'Vietnamese students are working too hard: they will take up too many places a university', 'There's too many of them.'
C. Cultural Norms, Values & Activities	People in contact areas have beliefs about the cultural values and activities of out-groups. Negative evaluation of the minority group's religion, clothing, daily habits may cover up discrimination on basis of socio-economic factors, e.g. It's more acceptable to discriminate against Jews for being Jewish or pushy than for being smart.
D. Typical Actions Interactions ascribed to a group	Includes socio-cultural activities, (e.g. 'they get very violent on the soccer field') as well as aggression, crime, deceit, fights, beliefs about drug use, e.g. 'Aborigines get drunk', 'Yugoslavs carry knives'.
E. Attributed Personal Characteristics	Sets of beliefs pertaining to the inherent, internal characteristics of minority members, e.g. 'blacks are good musicians', 'Aborigines are lazy' 'Foreigners are dirty'.

These schemes provide a person with the basis for handling information about minority groups and for deciding on how to behave in particular social situations. Hamilton (cited in Van Dijk, 1983) has shown how ethnic group representations bias our information processing, e.g. selective attention for and recall of mostly negative information about members of ethnic minorities. Other examples of how we use our social representation of minorities to process social information include:

1. Evaluation of the action of minority members in terms of the supposedly negative features of their group, e.g. a Lebanese girl's running away from home is attributed to the rigidity of her family life.

2. Favoritism in ambiguous situations towards in-group members.

3. Forming negative representation from incidental experiences, e.g. that is what I expect from a tourist, I've had dealings with them before.

4. Negative information spreading and remembering negative information.

The above prejudiced attitudes can also be classified according to the following components:

a) The cognitive element - perception of and information about the object of the attitude and its relationship to others.

b) The affective element - feeling (like or dislike) towards the object of the attitude.

c) Connative elements - what is done at the action level.

In considering which component one needs to emphasise in modifying prejudiced attitudes it's worth recalling the opinion of Pierre van der Berghe.

> Much of the applied work in the field (of race relations) has been directed at changing prejudicial attitudes rather than discriminatory behaviour despite the fact that this strategy has proven slow, expensive and limited in its effectiveness; on the other hand the elimination of discrimination has typically been followed by rapid changes in attitudes. (Van de Berghe, 1967, p.7)

As one prominent worker in the field of anti-discrimination put it: "I don't care now after all this time what you think about me, as long as there are laws that make you treat me like a fellow human being". The above two quotes emphasis the importance of the connotive element, the elimination of discriminatory action. While agreeing with this stance I feel, however, that in the case of children, attitudes must also be examined as they play a significant role in the social representatives children develop. Attitudes in fact are often communicated in a variety of subtle cues that constitute action. These include verbal and non-verbal messages - a grimace, a shrug, an imperceptible moving away, a joke. Programmes and strategies to combat ethnic and racial prejudice need to target all the three components: the cognitive, the affective and the conative. The primary focus needs to be the propositions which appear at the tope of Van Dijk's hierarchy: discrimination on the basis of different nationality and/or appearance; other groups' socio-economic status; the cultural norms, values and activities.

WHAT IS THE SOURCE OF PREJUDICE IN CHILDREN?

I do not propose to deal at this stage with the complex topic of sources of prejudice. I just want to note that children's prejudice is rarely based on their own experience. The negatively valued stereotypes they hold and discriminatory behaviour they exhibit is based on what they have learned directly or indirectly from adults about them, from their peers, from media and books. From childhood we identify ourselves as members of a family, ethnic and religious and neighbourhood group; and if parents should indicate either covertly or overtly that such 'in-groups' are inherently superior and desirable while other 'out-groups' are inferior and hateful the child will tend to identify with these prejudices and hatred accordingly.

Many well-meaning parents and teachers may express support for intercultural understanding, anti-racist values. However, they are often not aware of their own underlying feelings and prejudices towards other groups or the implications of their own group membership and make no direct or planned attempts to teach their children ethnic attitudes. Instead such attitudes are conveyed to the children by restricting social relationships in the home, neighbourhood and school and by disapproving of friendships with members of certain groups.

Sociologists stress also the importance of the situation in which children find themselves. It has been found that prejudice is readily learned in areas where it is widely practised and observed as in Australian country towns with a high proportion of Aborigines, or in suburbs where the newest waves of Asian migrants are settling.

In some cases prejudice is associated with a disturbed personality. Allport (1958) pointed out that the child whose own experience is that power and authority dominate human relationships is more likely to develop suspicion, fear and a hierarchical view of relationships.

In the next section I discuss some key approaches to combatting racism and prejudice in children.

COMBAT ING PREJUDICE

From the vast field of research on prejudice and racism I have selected four areas for discussion:

- The significance of the attitude of authority figures;
- The identification of the hidden curriculum;
- Inter-racial or inter-ethnic contact;
- The development of cognitively sophisticated thinking regarding prejudice AND STEREOTYPES.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ATTITUDES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES

An early British study by Miller (1969) measured prejudice of 1,314 males aged 15 to 20 years on a five item scale (e.g. Denial to coloured people of professions, a prohibition of mixed marriage). Miller's teaching strategies involved the use of films, books, discussions and visiting speakers. An overall rise in the level of prejudice resulted from the programme. The longer the teaching time the more prejudice. These devastating results were explained in terms of McGuire's 'innoculation theory' of attitude change, i.e. presenting weak forms of an argument tends to strengthen counter-perspectives. This particularly applied to highly prejudiced subjects among whom there was strong internal group support for attitudes held. The teacher was seen as weak

and external to the group and "alternative perspectives do not penetrate the prejudicial judgements of the group members" (Poole, 1980, p.50).

The teacher's role emerged as more significant in another English study, the Humanity Curriculum Project (H.C.P.) (Binnion, 1982). The H.C.P. was a pilot project involving 226 adolescents aged 14 to 16, in 6 English schools, five of which were multi-racial. The material comprised a 'race-pack' produced under the auspices of the schools council. Three different teaching strategies called A, B and C were used. The aim of teaching strategy A was to 'develop an understanding in the area of race relations of social situations and human arts and of the controversial value issue which they raise'. The teacher in this strategy adopted the role of 'neutral chairman' in the classroom. Strategy B was more positive: to educate for the elimination of racial tensions and ill-feeling within our society by undermining prejudice, by developing respect for various traditions and by encouraging mutual understanding, reasonableness and justice. In this strategy the teacher was committed to give her/his view in order to promote racial tolerance. Strategy C was concerned with teaching about racial relations through drama.

The findings were that both strategies A (neutral chairperson) and B (didactic chairperson) resulted in significant changes in the direction of increased tolerance compared with controls. Whereas strategy C (drama approach) showed no marked advantage. The researchers arrived at two important conclusions. One was that schools would be wise to adopt whichever strategy accords with the context of teaching and the skills of the teachers involved. Secondly, on an optimistic note:

> One result ... was consistent throughout the whole experiment in all groups taught. Some people moved towards racism while others moved away from racism towards tolerance or respect. Intervention by teaching influenced the proportion between those moving to greater racism and those moving to less racism in favour of greater tolerance. (Cited in Binnion, 1982, p.3)

The mixed results on the role of the teacher suggest other factors such as the personality of the prejudiced may interact with teacher attitudes and roles. It may be that a positive, strong anti-prejudice stand by the teacher is more important when working with highly prejudiced youngsters. This is indicated in an American study discussed more fully below and applies particularly when the adult in charge is admired and loved by the children.

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

In order to combat prejudice educators need to first investigate and identify its existence both among children and in their social context. Unless there is research on prejudice or it is so severe as to lead to open conflict it is not visible in the ordinary course of events. When it is displayed it is likely to be in private rather than public situations or contexts. Apart from acknowledging the often implicit prejudice amongst children one needs to take account of the fact that "Humans are social beings and ... their reactions in a social setting reflect not only their individual idiosyncracies and biases but also prevailing norms and expectations". (Banks, cited in Orzech, 1984, p.4) Though neither parents nor teachers can change the value system or structure of society and eradicate prejudice, they can critically examine the structures, power relations - the hidden curriculum - of the setting in which children grow up. As Lorna Lippman has written: "Attitudes are caught rather than taught".

Schools need to take a good hard look at what their students are being implicitly taught through the way power is distributed in the school, decisions are made, discipline maintained, how students are grouped and parentalwishes accommodated. Teachers need to look at their own attitudes towards, and expectations of, boys, girls, ethnic minorities and students of lower socio-economic background. How well, for example, would they know and pronounce correctly the names of their students, particularly those with unfamiliar names? The Combat ing Prejudice in Schools Project (1985) carried out by the Richmond Community Education Centre points to the importance of teachers knowing the names of their students, systematically using them when talking to them or referring to them and encouraging the regular and correct use of their names amongst students.

Children assume the status of non-entities in the eyes of others if they are not called anything, addressed incorrectly or not addressed at all in class.

Combat ing prejudice also requires an examination of children's literature both at home and at school for ethnocentric perspectives, stereotypes.

The Combat ing Prejudice in Schools Project (1985) suggests that schools examine some specific questions, namely:

- Streaming: Does it happen and where are the non-English speaking background children?
- Ethnic and Aboriginal Aides: What is their status in the school?
- Teachers of non-English Speaking Backgrounds: What is their status in the school?
- Role and Status of English as a Second Language Teacher: Is everything 'multi-cultural' made their responsibility? Is there is suggestion that multi-cultural perspectives are appropriate for the non-English speaking children only, rather than for all Australian children?
- Does someone specific take responsibility for making teachers aware of new students' names?

- Are there camps and other activities specifically designed to promote mixing and interaction?

To sum up: "It is not possible to change attitudes and minimise prejudice if the structural conditions which encourage them are maintained" (S Lewins, 1980, cited in Orzech, 1984, p.6).

INTER-RACIAL, INTER-ETHNIC CONTACT

Does increasing contact between various members of races and ethnic groups reduce prejudice? The research results are not clear-cut. An American study (cited in Mussen et al., 1974, p.470) investigated changes in boys' attitudes towards blacks after a four week vacation at an inter-racial camp where blacks and whites lived, ate and played together. The subjects were white, New York City boys ranging from 8 to 14 years. A test for prejudice was administered to each boy less than 24 hours before he left home for the camp. The child was given 12 photographs of boys' faces, eight of them black, four white. The child was asked to indicate his order of preference for these faces. In the second part he selected pictures of boys he would like to go to the movies with, invite home to lunch etc. The extent of discimination against the pictures of blacks constituted the measure of prejudice. This test was given again just before children left the camp. Boys' personality structure was also evaluated by analysing responses to a picture story text. Data about personal and social adjustment at camp was collected from two sources: a brief interview with each child and a camp social worker's report. It was found that following the inter-racial camp experience some of the boys increased significantly in prejudice, where others decreased. In general the boys who increased in prejudice were hostile, defiant youngsters who perceived the world as cruel and unpleasant and felt they were victims of aggression. The explanation of it was that these boys mostly did not act out their hostile feelings and thus had a greater need to displace their aggression by means of anti-black prejudice. These boys were also found to be dissatisfied with the camp itself, the other campers and inter-personal relations. On the other hand, children who decreased in prejudice showed fewer aggressive needs, less hostility towards parents, fewer feelings of restraint and generally favourable attitudes towards society. Their counsellors considered them to be high in ability to relate to others.

Another study by Radke Yarrow et al (cited in Mussen et al. 1974, p.471) was on the modification of racial attitudes. 1,000 8 to 13 year olds were observed at a summer camp. Some of the children both white and black lived in de-segregated cabins for a two-week period. The behaviour in de-segregated situations was compared with behaviour of children in segregated cabins. Signs of tension were more frequent among the children living in de-segregated cabins, i.e. blacks and whites together. In line with earlier research, both the black and white children viewed the latter as more desirable for friends and of higher status. However, there was a trend for both black and white children to view the blacks as increasingly desirable after the two week de-segregated living. Suspicion and hostility between the two groups decreased. It seemed that the most important catalyst for change was not just the experience of living in a bi-racial setting but the counsellor. His personality, attitude, particularly his warmth and personal security facilitated the establishment of good inter-personal relations between the black and white children. This study highlights the significance of two important points. First inter-racial contact on its own does not necessarily breed tolerance, and if anything can go in the opposite direction, and secondly the significance of the attitude of authority figures. It seems that the benefit of inter-racial contact can be enhanced in friendly, informal settings characterised by inter-personal relations of mutual trust, respect and empathy.

Glock et al.'s (1975) research onanti-Semitism found mixed results for inter-ethnic contact. In settings where Jews were present and where opportunities for inter-religious friendships were taken up, the effect was a reduction in the incidence of anti-Semitism. At the same time the gross amount of anti-Semitism was greater where there was a Jewish presence than in a community where there was not. Moreover, the larger the Jewish presence, the greater the anti-Semitism. Glock et al speculated that it has been taken for granted that negative stereotypes constitute misperceptions or misrepresentations of reality. The possible truth content of stereotypes has either been overlooked or denied. Glock's study found some truth in stereotypes about Jewish youngsters (supposed to be conceited, too powerful, clannish and bossy).However, the prevalence of these stereotyped attributes was relative rather than absolute, that is, it was not that all Jewish youngsters manifested a particular trait but only that they were more prone to do so than non-Jews in the sample. Glock et al pointed out that the prejudiced response is produced not so much by the behaviour of the stigmatized as by how the behaviour is explained. They considered that the most significant contribution of their findings lay in their identification of what they labelled 'explanatory modes' as essential elements in prejudice formation, maintenance and reduction.Glock et al criticised schools for often relying on culture contact to combat racism rather than analytically arrived strategies. These are elaborated more fully in the next section.

Taifel (cited in Healer, 1980) in his work on the development of inter-group attitudes in children concluded that we need to consider how to teach children to think about groups in a more complicated and differentiated way ... to introduce more complex and subtle thinking processes. Glock along with Taifel makes a plea for teaching youngsters to be cognitively sophisticated about prejudice, even in the absence of their becoming cognitively sophisticated generally.

DEVELOPING COGNITIVE SOPHISTICATION IN THINKING ABOUT OTHER ETHNIC AND RACIAL GROUPS

As Glock et al emphasised,the pedagogical solution pointed to by research is for the existence of group differences to be forthrightly acknowledged and discussed whether they appear to reflect on the group positively, negatively or neutrally. If anything, negative attributes are specially to be acknowledged to ensure that there are no grounds for youngsters to feel deceived. Stereotypes are not, then, to be condemned simply because they are generalisations that have proven false on some occasions, since for much of the time we don't know if they are true or false. Moreover, there is evidence that the prejudiced response is determined not so much by the stereotype as by how it is explained. An American study by Saenger and Flowerman (cited in Saunders, 1982) highlights this point. They asked 450 students for descriptions of certain human groups since the researchers predicted that their dislike would be rooted in these characteristics. This, however, was not the case. They ascribed to Jews, for instance, many of the characteristics they also ascribed to groups they did not dislike. Jews were described as mercenary by 31% of the students, but 25% described Americans similarly and 38% believed businessmen were also mercenary. But Jews were more often disliked for this quality than either Americans or businessmen. In fact the

most powerful criticism of stereotyping is a hidden assumption that most stereotypes are based on in-born characteristics which cannot be changed, so in Glock's study it was attributing certain behaviour to a deficiency in the character of Jews that led to anti-Semitism. Ascribing the traits as concomitant of success rather than of Jewishness was not only a sign of great cognitive sophistication on a teenager's part but also an indication of her or his capacity to deal with and to transcend being prejudiced. By and large the evidence suggests that most children and adolescents are not that sophisticated and because of the prevailing prejudice in their culture they fall ready prey to an explanation that feeds prejudice rather than starves it. Glock et al suggested three kinds of educational input, to prevent adolescents falling victim to simplistic thinking:

1. Instruction in the logic of inference is called for so that adolescents can come to recognise when group differences are being falsely accounted for. Learning the logic of inference requires instruction in the notion of causality - looking beyond certain characteristics and easy explanations.

2. Specific instructions on how group differences come about - going into the historical background of group differences to reveal their cultural and social sources, e.g. one can go beyond the simplistic explanation that arranged marriages among Australians coming from Greek village backgrounds are due to their innate rigidity and over-control of their children by helping children and adolescents understand the particular cultural reasons for that institution. As Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope (1984) explain, arranged marriage was a practice necessary in peasant societies where land and property had to be redistributed by dowry from generation to generation in a way that ensured the reproduction of family units working on family land. It was important for the family, who would come into it and with what property and social connections.

> If arranged marriage continues in Australia its cultural 'why' is totally different ... Now it happens because parents brought up in the way of the village still believe arranged marriage is moral and right. Arranged marriage in Australia is mainly for moral-ideological reasons. (Kalantzis and Cope, 1984, p.22).

3. Instruction needs to make clear the size of group differences. These are often exaggerated. It needs to point out that virtually all group differences are relative. For example, though Vietnamese students are often good at mathematics (stereotype) there are also many Australian children who are equally good.

Glock et al conclude that this type of instruction would make prejudice indefensible intellectually, even for young people surrounded by prejudiced peers.

There is evidence that some of the effective strategies in combatting racism and prejudice include:

1. A strong and positive stance by authority figures, rather than a weak position.

2. The identification, acknowledgement and if necessary modification of the hidden curriculum within the social context in which children grow up, i.e. the home, the school, the playground.

3. Inter-ethnic or inter-racial contact when it is accompanied by deliberate efforts to establish empathic, respectful and co-operative relationships; and

4. Promoting amongst children and adolescents more cognitively sophisticated explanatory modes of the differences they see about them.

All these approaches aim not to deny differences between groups, but rather to de-stigmatize them. An understanding of the pain, the shame, the damage to self-esteem that a child branded with stigma suffers should spur all concerned with child-rearing and child educating towards efforts to eliminate the stigma producing attitudes and prejudices.

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